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LOYALTY AND FREEDOM

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INTRODUCTION

The question

Is there to be a rebirth of freedom in our country, or will reactionary forces be allowed to destroy the free spirit in American politics, American education, and American religious life?

Is freedom threatened in your community?

The school board in one community passed a resolution requiring loyalty oaths by teachers and employees of the school district, members of the board of education, speakers and lecturers at school affairs, and officers and committee chairmen of organizations which asked for the use of school facilities. . . .

An eminent Negro educator was scheduled to speak in a school auditorium. When a local anti-Communist league accused her of membership in organizations listed as subversive, the Board of Education cancelled permission for use of the school building. The educator denied the truth of these charges; and an uprising of indignation in the community led to withdrawal of the ban on the use of the school. . . .

When the World Federalists held a meeting in an East Coast city, the police took down the license numbers of cars driven by people in the audience. . . .

In one community history programs arranged by the local university were taken off TV because they were "controversial."

". . . While we take all wise precautions for defense, both within and outside our borders, the present situation demands spiritual calm, historical perspective, religious faith, and an adventurous spirit. Loyalty to great principles of truth and justice has made our nation great; such loyalty alone can keep it great and ensure its destiny."

From a Letter to Presbyterians.
The General Council of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., October 21, 1953.

Chapter I

THIS FREEDOM OF OURS

The state should not presume either to grant or deny human freedom, for freedom is the gift of God to man, who is created by him in his image. This is acknowledged in the Declaration of Independence: "All men are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights." We are citizens, therefore, not only of our country, but also of the Commonwealth of God to whom we owe our freedom as his children.

This country of ours is a democracy in which, through a republican form of government of the people, by the people, for the people, the "unalienable rights" of citizens are ensured by the Constitution and its Amendments, the Bill of Rights.

Members of Protestant churches have a special responsibility for maintaining and protecting American freedoms, over and beyond their responsibility for the welfare of the nation. They are the inheritors and guardians of a religious faith and a religious influence that have contributed to the development of freedom both in our own country and in the world. The idea of liberty held by the founding fathers of the American Republic was rooted in many influences, Hebrew, Greek, and Roman, but the distinctive contribution came by way of the Protestant Reformation.

American freedoms and Protestantism

This distinctive contribution to the idea and the cause of freedom came basically from the teachings of Jesus, the writings of Paul, and the experience of the early Christian church. It was the idea of the inherent worth of the individual, because he was created by God in his image, and the object of God's love, directly accountable to him.

For the Protestant, then, it is not enough to depend on secular authorities for human rights, since he believes that rights come from a power above the claims of states.[1]

[1] Although Protestants have a special responsibility for maintaining and protecting American freedoms, there are large areas in which Roman Catholics, Jews and many others have the same interests and convictions as Protestants facing the same enemies of freedom.

Unless it is acknowledged that these rights come from God, there is no defense against assaults on human rights by states. A totalitarian state must by its very nature deny the claim of an individual to rights which come from his relation to God.

Three basic Protestant convictions must be considered in relation to current threats to our American freedoms:

1. The inherent worth and dignity of man
2. Man's responsibility and his humility before God
3. Truth is in battle with error, and error must lose if it freely competes with truth.

The challenge

Following World War II Soviet communism increased its revolutionary offensive against the free world both by military power and by a world-wide campaign of subversion. America, therefore, is faced with three challenges:

1. America, because it is the most powerful free country, is called upon to help maintain freedom against aggression;
2. America must defend its own life against attempts to destroy its precious heritage;
3. In combating communism and totalitarianism, America must not use methods which may destroy the very freedom that needs to be protected.

This booklet is concerned only with the third challenge, but not because the others are unimportant or less serious. These are all challenges to be faced courageously by all Americans.

Communism a threat to freedom

The philosophy, practices, and programs of those who hold the Communist faith are threats against the freedom of the American people. The Massachusetts Council of Churches said in November 1953:

"We recognize that Russian communism is now a serious threat both to our country and to Christianity. Defeat of this threat will require long continued efforts, and can be accomplished only by using methods

which themselves preserve the rights and dignity of every human being. The Council believes that it is the duty of good citizens to support such efforts and urges all members of its constituent bodies to do so."

"The test of a democracy is its capacity to produce the kind of people who can make it work. And these people must have learned that in addition to the liberty they crave, there must be order. Without order, liberty means chaos." — F. Ernest Johnson, "This Freedom of Ours."

The ways of a democracy

Democracy emphasizes the rights of the individual. A totalitarian state insists that every citizen accept the views of the ruling group on what that group regards as essential or true. A totalitarian state fears criticism; it can allow no effective opposition; within its borders error is repressed by police methods.

In a democracy, if false ideas are openly expressed, efforts can be made to correct them. False ideas freely competing with truth are less likely to prevail than when there is an attempt to suppress them. Error withers when it is corrected, not when it is driven underground. Force cannot extinguish ideas. Police power must be used only when those who hold dangerous ideas resort to violence to disrupt order.

The basic values upon which any system of personal freedom must be grounded — truth, justice, charity — these can be best maintained as they draw upon religious and spiritual resources.

An editorial writer in a church publication says: "It is not what Protestant leaders say against communism which makes Protestantism the most powerful and fruitful single force standing against tyranny of every kind in the world today. It is what Protestantism stands for as a religious truth, and what it inculcates in the consciousness of its adherents — its concept of spiritual individualism and its total awareness that the human freedoms are essential to the practice and preservation of Christianity and all free religion."

POINTS FOR DISCUSSION

Discuss, out of the experience of the group, situations in which false ideas were destroyed because people were free to criticize.

The General Board of the National Council of Churches said in March 1953, "As Christian Americans we are dedicated to maintaining the freedom of all Americans and their institutions. No body of citizens is more alert to the threats of Communist thought and conspiracy, both to the Christian faith and to freedom, than the Christian churches."

Discuss what the churches in your community have done in support of American freedom.

THE CONSTITUTION AND FREEDOM

It is the right and duty of Congress to make such investigations as may be necessary to secure the information upon which sound legislation may be based.

Congressional committees investigating communism

In the first session of the 83rd Congress, three major committees conducted these investigations:

1. The Permanent Investigations Sub-committee of the Senate Government Operations Committee; chairman, Senator Joseph H. McCarthy, of Wisconsin;

2. The Internal Security Sub-committee of the Senate Judiciary Committee; chairman, Senator William E. Jenner, of Indiana;

3. The House Un-American Activities Committee; chairman, Congressman Harold H. Velde, of Illinois.

These Congressional committees are not constituted as courts; they do not have the safeguards of court procedures. Yet they are often investigating individuals, not even stating what is charged against the witness. They merely imply, by their questions, that he is guilty of subversion.

In many cases, the accuser is not identified and does not appear before the committee. Where the accuser does appear little attempt is made to examine or discover the truth or error of his testimony.

Inconclusive and unsupported evidence is often accepted by the committees as proof.

Unverified and unevaluated material has at times been released to the press.

The accused, when allowed to appear, is permitted to have legal counsel, but this legal counselor may not make statements or ask questions of the committees or of other witnesses.

In many cases the committees' proceedings do not seem to be aimed at determining whether the accused is guilty of subversion or whether he has been associated with "sub-

versive" ideas. Instead, it would appear that the purpose is to discover whether the accused meets the committees' conception of loyalty.

Hearings, properly conducted, are for the purpose of permitting the accused to defend his innocence or to present facts in mitigation of guilt, and to assure that all factors are considered in the hearing. Hearings are not to be occasions for punishment, condemnation, or abuse.

In an article in the *Atlantic,* August 1953, Abe Fortas, an eminent lawyer, comments on these Congressional hearings: "The hearing has become a weapon of persecution, a useful tool to the demagogue, a device for the glory of the prosecutor, and a snare for the accused. It is an alarming fact that through the medium of television and radio American people are being educated to the notion that these spectacles are hearings which satisfy democracy's insistence upon due process."

The General Board, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U. S. A., March 1953, declared: "Certain methods of Congressional committees investigating communist activities endanger the very freedoms which we seek to preserve."

A distinguished college president says: "These methods are not simply threats to freedom. They are acts committed against freedom by an authority, the acts of a government which by its Constitution is dedicated to the protection of the rights of the individual. They are authoritarian acts carried out under the full auspices and with the full weight of the United States Government."

What is the First Amendment?

The First Amendment to the Constitution states that no law shall be made by Congress in the following areas:

"Respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances."

What is the Fifth Amendment?

The Fifth Amendment to the Constitution declares: "No person shall be held to answer for a capital or any other infamous crime unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service, in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation."

The aims of the hearings

To the thoughtful observer the hearings seem to:

1. Make the existence and threat of Communists and their sympathizers the all-embracing and all-encompassing issue of life. (While the threat of communism is great, it is not the exclusive threat.)

2. Give political significance to anyone who claims to be the leader in the campaign against communism, no matter what he believes or does about other vital matters affecting the destiny of the American people.

3. Make people think that security against the threat of communism will make them secure in every respect.

4. Give a few people the right to define Americanism, and to enforce this definition upon the people through intimidation and fear.

5. Confuse communism with "liberalism," a method typical of Communist techniques.

Elmer Davis comments, "They are after people who think, and whose thinking does not always agree with theirs."

In September 1950, the Internal Security Act, often referred to as the McCarran Act because its author was Senator Pat McCarran, of Nevada, was enacted over the

The Internal Security Act

President's veto. This Act consolidates various bills, including the Mundt-Ferguson-Johnston Bill, the Nixon Bill, and the Hobbs Bill, each of which was at least in part vigorously opposed by civic and church groups across the country.

Under the McCarran Act, those aliens who may have joined subversive or allegedly subversive organizations years ago (before they were listed as subversive) and even those who have since repudiated their association with such groups, are liable to deportation. Such persons may be deported to a country in which they may suffer racial or religious persecution, or be used for cheap labor. In vetoing this measure, President Truman said: "No consideration of expediency can justify the enactment of such a bill as this, a bill which would greatly weaken our liberties and give aid and comfort to those who would destroy us."

For the purpose of this booklet, the section of the McCarran Act on registration of subversive organizations is especially important, for this is the latest official recognition of the "guilt by association" idea. It was on this count that Bishop C. Bromley Oxnam, of The Methodist Church, was charged — not with being a Communist or even a fellow traveler, but that he had lent his name to organizations subsequently listed as "subversive" by the Un-American Activities Committee.

The Subversive Activities Control Board

This board, which gets its authority from the McCarran Act, is composed of five members, appointed by the President. These appointments are subject to Senate approval, which means preliminary approval by the Senate Judiciary Committee.

By the authority of the McCarran Act, the Attorney General of the United States makes available to the Subversive Activities Control Board a list of organizations which he considers either "Communist-action" or "Communist-front" organizations. This list of organizations, originally intended to be used in connection with the gov-

ernment's employee security program, is also used by the Congressional investigation committees (see page 7).

The definitions of "Communist-action" or "Communist-front" organizations in the McCarran Act are so vague that it would be possible for an organization to be so designated if even one of its objectives happened to be the same as an objective of admittedly Communist groups. Action for rent control, for instance, could make an organization subject to registration as a "Communist-action" group, if it happened that Communists also supported such legislation.

Today lists of so-called "subversive" organizations are made not only by the Attorney General of the United States but also by Congressional committees, state attorneys general, state legislative committees, private organizations, and even by individuals. The standards by which these judgments are being made are increasingly vague. Our nation seems to be moving rapidly from trials of individuals to trials of groups and movements. Persons are judged guilty primarily and unfairly because they associate with those whom a person, a group or a Congressional committee calls "subversive."

Guilt by association

Is guilt by association right, legally?

In Anglo-American law, guilt is personal, not collective. Guilt lies in what a person does, not in what he thinks, and not in his associations. Many times the Supreme Court has repudiated the idea of guilt by association, and also the notion that one man can decide what organizations are illegal. It has upheld the Constitution's provision prohibiting the Congress from passing an "ex-post facto" law — a law "which renders an act punishable in a way in which it was not punishable when it was committed." Yet citizens are now being smeared by Congressional committees, even forfeiting their jobs, because they joined an organization in 1937 which was not held suspect until 1950.

Is guilt by association right, practically?

How can a person check the loyalty of the membership of the organizations to which he may have belonged in the past, or even of those to which he belongs today? Where would he start? With his church? His fraternal society? His labor union? The professional group to which he belongs? The Parents-Teachers Association? His bowling club?

Is guilt by association right, historically?

We are a nation of joiners. A history of our development as a nation could not be written without telling about the influence of thousands of voluntary organizations. Freedom of association has always been the basis of our free democracy. Many years ago de Tocqueville, a French traveler in our country, amazed at the number and the effectiveness of our voluntary organizations, remarked: "The right of association is almost as unalienable as the right of personal liberty."

The use of FBI Files

Loyalty files, which have always been protected by an executive order, are now evidently being used as proof without making public the sustaining evidence. It is not the duty of the Attorney General of the United States to reveal secret information about those not yet brought to trial, and he must refrain from commenting on any pending case. The Attorney General is not a judge; it is not his function to give to the country the names of either the guilty or the innocent. It is a jury's function at a public trial to establish the guilt or innocence of the accused.

National security involves more than the security of the nation as a whole. National security also involves consideration of individual human beings — their rights, their security, their protection.

The Compulsory non-Communist Oath

There is a growing practice in our country which requires certain groups of citizens to sign non-Communist oaths. There is a difference between a "loyalty oath" and a non-Communist

oath. The pattern of what today is called a "loyalty oath" has two parts:

(1) A true "loyalty oath" in which a person swears his support of the Constitution; (2) a pseudo "loyalty oath" in which a person swears that he is not a Communist. When a citizen, after swearing loyalty to the Constitution, as the President of the United States does when he takes office, then has to swear that he is not a Communist, he is in effect swearing that he was not lying when he made the first affirmation. Many thoughtful and loyal citizens would prefer losing their jobs to taking this oath.

The Board of Directors of the Council of Churches, New Haven, Connecticut, believes that there is grave cause for concern to the conscience of our citizens, as this practice of requiring non-Communist oaths grows. Consider the points of their statement:

Communists are not exposed through the use of these oaths, for members of the Communist Party are evidently encouraged to sign them.

The use of the compulsory loyalty oath endangers those who are the strongest foes of communism and the strongest allies of democracy, who oppose the principle of the non-Communist oath because of high motives of conscience and integrity. A compulsory non-Communist oath endangers one of our most cherished democratic principles: a person's loyalty and integrity are assumed until he acts otherwise. The use of the non-Communist oath is a result of fear, but it does nothing to decrease that fear. Rather it creates more fear, widening distrust and resentment.

POINTS FOR DISCUSSION

How do groups and organizations in your community feel about the present methods of Congressional investigating committees?

Ask a member of your group to write to the Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., for a copy of the McCarran Act; use it as reference material in your discussion.

How has the listing of "subversive" organizations affected the life of your community?

What groups in your community are required to sign non-Communist oaths? Discuss the reasons given for this requirement. What are the effects on community life?

There are several points of view on invoking the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution by those who are accused of subversion by Congressional investigating committees. Use a blackboard in your discussion of this point, listing the pros and cons.

Chapter III

FREEDOM TO THINK AND ACT

Columbia University, New York city, in its two-hundredth anniversary year, has chosen as the theme of its celebration, "Man's Right to Knowledge and the Free Use Thereof." Scholars and statesmen from our own country and from other countries are interpreting this theme, helping us all to renew our allegiance to the faith of the founding fathers of the American Republic — "that to give up freedom for security is, in the end, to have neither freedom nor security."

The right to dissent

In one of the addresses of this year-long seminar, Chief Justice Earl Warren reminded us that "liberty, not communism, is the most contagious force in the world." "When men are free to explore all avenues of thought, no matter what prejudices may be aroused, there is a healthy climate in the nation. Dissenters can let off steam. The greatest figures in American history have always recognized this as inherent in our system. The founding fathers themselves were not orthodox either in thought or expression. They recognized both the right and the value of dissent in their generation."

In a similar vein Charles Evans Hughes once said: "Our institutions were not designed to bring about conformity of opinion; if they had been, we might well abandon hope. The essential characteristic of true liberty is that under its shelter many different types of opinion and belief can develop unmolested and unobstructed."

Today the right to express one's opinion freely is under fire. Many citizens are losing their reputation and their right to a livelihood because they have exercised their freedom to criticize and to hold beliefs unpopular to a pressure group, and their right to protest something which they believe to be a danger to their community and to the nation.

The right to independent thinking is being challenged by powerful pressures, urging us to conform to the atti-

tudes of self-constituted "leaders" — or else. But the will of the people, which is the basis of democracy, cannot be formulated and expressed unless we have complete freedom of opinion, of speech, and of assembly, and the right to differ.

Freedom to read

Private groups and public authorities in many parts of the country are removing books from sale, censoring textbooks, labeling some books "subversive," distributing lists of "objectionable" books and "purging" libraries.

In one community it is reported that a woman citizen insisted that all books about Robin Hood be taken from the public library because Robin Hood was "subversive." In another community an organization of "professional patriots" asked the city council to burn copies of *Moby Dick* and *Canterbury Tales*. A member of a three-man "Literary Commission" appointed by the governor of one state said that he would have to read Chaucer before deciding to burn his books.

Some state legislatures have passed laws requiring authors of textbooks to affirm special loyalty oaths and to declare whether they are Communists. In one of these states, the law demands that the author of a textbook print on the title pages his affirmation that he is not a member of the Communist Party. In addition, every book referred to has to carry a similar affirmation.

The chairman of one of the Congressional investigation committees introduced a bill in 1953 which would have required the librarian of Congress to have all the books in the library — nine million volumes — read and all "subversive" matter marked as guidance for other libraries.

Some of this furor over books has begun to abate since the declaration of President Eisenhower, June 1953, in an address at Dartmouth College: "Don't join the book burners. Don't think you are going to conceal faults by concealing evidence that they ever existed. Don't be afraid to go to your library and read every book as long as any document does not offend your own ideas of decency. That should be the only censorship.

"How will we defeat communism unless we know what it is? What it teaches? Why does it have such an appeal for men? Why are so many people swearing allegiance to it?

"Now we have got to fight it with something better, not try to conceal the thinking of our own people. They are part of America and even if they think ideas that are contrary to ours they have a right to have them, a right to record them and a right to have them in places where they are accessible to others. . . ."

The freedom to read is essential to a democracy, for books are one of the greatest instruments of freedom.

Freedom to assemble

The freedom to assemble, a fundamental American right, is being denied in many communities. In advance of their arrival, outside speakers are denounced as "subversive" by local groups, and meeting places are not made available. Thus far in our history, the Supreme Court of the United States has sanctioned no restrictions whatever on peaceful assembly.

If the processes of democracy are to be safeguarded, the right to assemble must be protected.

Freedom and education

A totalitarian state forces its educators, through successive investigations and threats of political reprisal, to teach what the state prescribes.

In a democracy the educational system should be free from partisan political exploitation. The first responsibility of the teacher is to help students to think for themselves, rather than to make them conform to the ideas of any self-constituted pressure group or any agency of the national government.

Today a nationwide campaign is under way to destroy confidence in our schools, to undermine the effectiveness of educators and to capture the mind of youth.

Academic freedom

Academic freedom — civil liberties in the world of education — is being increasingly restricted. Teachers from the faculties of some of our most distinguished colleges and universities are subjected to abuse as they are questioned regard-

ing their political beliefs, their opinions, and their affiliations.

Freedom of inquiry in institutions of higher education is being challenged. Freedom of discussion is curtailed because students fear some unpredictable reprisal in their future roles as scientists or educators, or as industrial, political and government leaders.

A study by *The New York Times* of a large group of colleges and universities showed "a subtle creeping paralysis of freedom of thought and speech, and a general pattern of caution and inhibition in student and faculty expression."

The public schools

The attacks of pressure groups, some of them organized on a national basis, on the public schools, their programs of study, their teachers and school principals are of concern to parents and to all citizens who know that the school children of today will create the America of tomorrow.

Many of these attacks are organized by a group calling itself "The National Council for American Education," headed by Allen Zoll. (This organization is not to be confused with highly reputable organizations, such as the National Education Association or the American Council on Education.) Mr. Zoll was founder and national commander of an organization called "American Patriots, Inc.," which operated in the years preceding World War II and is on the Attorney General's list as a fascist organization.

In one community a locally organized anti-Communist league charged that there were subversive activities in the public schools. Although these charges, after investigation, were proved false, the work of the schools was seriously affected. Teachers began to fear that healthy, open discussion in their classes would be misinterpreted. There was some evidence that students, under instructions from their parents, were trying to trap the teachers into making incriminating statements. Finally a community group was formed to offset the attempts of the anti-Communist league to disrupt the schools.

In another community a high school superintendent, under pressure, suspended the activities of a group of students who were studying the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization because "UNESCO is under atheistic control."

A group of women in another community labeled certain books in the high school library "objectionable"; these books were later burned with the consent of the school officials.

Communist states enforce their rule and insure their existence by commanding conformity to the state in all realms of life. Yet groups in our own country who profess to be fighting communism are trying to bring about a crippling conformity in our educational system which may ultimately destroy all that we know as democracy.

The churches speak

A *Letter to the Christian People of America,* from the General Assembly of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America, Denver, Colorado, December 1952, warned:

"In all education, and in culture as a whole, the interests of truth are dependent upon freedom of thought. It is only through the toleration of ideas that we can look forward to an increased apprehension of truth and to the preparation of stalwart representation of truth. It is, in fact, good for truth to have to struggle with error. Nothing can be more fatal to truth and to the welfare of society as a whole than to try to suppress by force so-called ideological errors. The attempt to suppress freedom of thought would be a sure way to facilitate the establishment of a totalitarian form of government. Error must be met by truth in free and open encounter. It must not be dealt with by a dungeon or a faggot, by a boycott or an Index, as has been done and still continues to be done in certain countries."

A statement by the American Baptist Convention, May 1952, called attention to "increasing discussion and confusion regarding academic freedom"; asserted that "impartial scholarship and pursuit of truth are indispensable to the continuance of a free society," and that "in a demo-

cratic society there will always be threats to those institutions based on the illimitable freedom of the human mind"; and resolved "that Baptists be alert to detect and challenge every attempt, nationally and locally, to compel conformity of thought, to the end that truth may be discovered and taught, thereby preserving the spirit of free inquiry and the untrammelled exchange of ideas essential to the maintenance of a society of free men."

The freedom of churches

The main stream of Protestantism is dedicated to the advancement of social ideals. The churches stand for racial brotherhood, for economic justice and social welfare, for understanding and cooperation among the churches, for the World Council of Churches, and for the support of the United Nations through which our country is working for international justice and world peace.

Exploiting the anxieties of the times, forces of dissension, often highly organized, are confusing church members by calling these efforts "communistic," and labeling ministers who preach on these subjects "Reds." Those to whom anticommunism is the highest faith cannot tolerate a free pulpit.

The churches are aware

The churches are aware of this threat to their freedom. The General Board, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., said in March 1953: "Free ministers in free pulpits, preaching to free people the liberating truth of Christ, are a chief bulwark of American freedom and the best guarantee of its future." And the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches declared in July 1949: "Only the recognition that man has ends and loyalties beyond the State will ensure true justice to the human person. Religious freedom is the condition and guardian of all true freedom. We declare the duty and the right of the church to preach the Word of God and to proclaim the will of God. We appeal to the churches to interpret and apply God's will to all realms of life. We warn the churches in all lands against the danger of being exploited for worldly ends."

The General Council of the Evangelical and Reformed Church adopted a statement September 1953, of which the following is an excerpt: ". . . The General Council does not defend clergymen who have fallen prey to the Communist line. In fact, the General Council sees no common ground between Christianity and communism. The General Council believes that the two ways of life are opposed and irreconcilable.

"However, our opposition to communism does not blind us to a tendency that is prevalent in American life today and against which we are unalterably opposed. That tendency labels anyone a Communist or fellow traveler who is at all critical of the status quo in American life. Part of the responsibility that naturally falls upon the church is to stand in judgment upon the paganism and materialism that tend to express themselves in many areas of our life. When the church ceases to be critical, the church loses her birthright. . . ."

POINTS FOR DISCUSSION

What would happen in your own family if every member of the family thought alike?

Are groups in your community free to criticize your town or city government? What changes for the better have come from such criticism?

Assume that some person or group tries to censor books in your public library or your school libraries. Could they be asked to define, and make public, their definition of "subversive"?

Should education in a democracy be designed to teach young people to obey authority in every field of thought or activity? If so, how will a democracy choose such an authority?

Appoint one member of your group to give a report on an article in *McCall's* Magazine, September 1951: "Who's Trying to Ruin Our Schools?"

Have you tried to find out whether the facts of the situation in your schools warrant the charges that may have been made against them? Or do you assume automatically that the charges are true?

Chapter IV

PROPAGANDA AND FREEDOM

In its more inclusive meaning, propaganda is anything that attempts to convince people that something is true, or that an attitude on a proposed course of action is desirable, necessary, useful. It may be religious, cultural, social or political in its objectives.

Most sermons seek to convince you about religious teachings. Church mission boards are concerned with spreading the Christian gospel. Political parties try to enlist you as a voter on their side by the arguments of their political platforms. Many voluntary organizations aim to influence opinion. An advertisement for a particular kind of soap powder is propaganda.

We are concerned, however, with a narrower definition of propaganda: Any statement on a controversial issue, addressed to a mass audience, presenting a selection of facts favorable to only one point of view, and aimed at influencing attitudes and actions.

Today hundreds of groups, some of them on the fringe of the life of the churches, are using this kind of propaganda to win the support of church members to programs of hatred and discord which threaten to undermine both Americanism and Christianity. And these "apostles of discord" claim that they are defending both America and Christianity.

There are several ways to meet this kind of propaganda:

We can find ways to suppress or forbid it (but we would then be destroying our American freedoms — freedom of religion, freedom of speech, and freedom of the press);

We can train ourselves to recognize it and learn how to evaluate it;

We can protect ourselves, our neighborhood, and our community from being fooled by it;

We can develop a positive position about our American freedoms and learn how to express this point of view.

How to recognize propaganda

Here are some tests for recognizing this kind of propaganda. You will think of others:

1. Does it seem deliberately to present only one side of a controversial issue? Does it present both sides without "slanting" either?
2. What is back of it?
   (a) What do you know about the editorial policies on other political, social, or economic issues of the newspapers or magazines presenting it?
   (b) What do you know about the speaker who is trying to persuade you to his point of view?
3. Does the appeal try to inspire you to hate or distrust a religious, political or racial group?
4. Does it assume that those who are back of it are superior to other groups in American life — religious, political, economic, racial?
5. Does it assume that everyone of importance or worth agrees with its point of view, and that those who disagree are of no worth?
6. Does it appeal excessively to your emotions, using such emotionally charged words as "freedom," "Americanism," "the faith of the Christian"? Do the implications in the use of these words correspond with the implications in general use?
7. Do you suspect that those who are back of it count on your being ignorant of what is involved?
8. Does its main point urge you to be *against* something or somebody rather than *for* something or *somebody?*

POINTS FOR DISCUSSION

As an intelligent American citizen,

I can look up all the facts on a controversial issue when I see that only one side is presented; if both sides are given, I can try to ascertain whether they are given fairly;

I can reject any propaganda based on appeals to hatred of any group;

I can be on my guard against any attempts to sweep me off balance by appeals to my emotions;

I shall have courage to stand for what I myself believe against the pressure of those who urge me to accept a point of view or take some action because "the best people" are doing it;

I can relate myself to groups in my community opposing the influence of this kind of propaganda.

Chapter V

FORCES OF DISSENSION

What is "mccarthyism"?

The threats to freedom in the current methods of Congressional investigations are symbolized in the word "mccarthyism." Both in the Permanent Investigation Sub-committee of the Senate Government Operations Committee, chaired by Senator McCarthy, and in the House Un-American Activities Committee, chaired by Congressman Velde, methods threatening our basic freedoms have been flagrantly used.

"Mccarthyism" is a political force affecting our habits of thinking, our action as citizens, and the patterns of our American institutions. The spread of this movement is much more ominous than the figure of the man who today is its symbol.

The response to "mccarthyism" usually comes from among those groups whose position in our society is or is felt to be most insecure. While no findings from careful studies are available, thoughtful observation suggests it appeals to unorganized and poorly paid workers who feel dwarfed by the bigness in today's economic life and pressed to keep even with a bare minimum standard of living; to the newly-rich who fear they may lose their wealth; to multitudes in the white collar group who are among the first to feel the pinch of inflation; to the small businessman and the executive both sensitive to the pressure for survival and advancement in an economy that is highly organized and competitive. This list could of course be extended. The hunt for Communists, as an all-encompassing threat, becomes to them a game in which they themselves take on new importance.

Hate groups

Organized groups, many of them national, some of them on the fringes of Protestant churches, are stirring up hatreds and discords in the name of "anticommunism," and smearing the character of men and women of integrity and loyalty. Some, consciously or unconsciously, aim to cre-

ate distrust of Administration leaders, whom they call "Jews," "Communists," "dupes of an international conspiracy." In an election period, these "professional patriots" urge people to "save the country" from Jews, Catholics, Negroes, Protestants, or from whatever group they claim is the root of all evil. Others oppose co-operation among the Protestant churches — either in the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. or in the World Council of Churches.

If a churchman preaches about world peace or equality of opportunity for all races, he is accused of being a "modernist." If he stands for goodwill and understanding in relation to other religious faiths, he is a "heretic." If, from the pulpit, he supports legislative measures intended to bring about social justice and the improvement of conditions in the life of the American people, the hate groups find ways to persecute him. He must concern himself, the attackers say, with "spiritual" matters only.

How did this situation develop?

Many people are afraid. They want "security." Life is frighteningly complex. It becomes a relief to believe any one who says there is only one thing — not many things — to fear, that the root of all evils is communism. Anticommunism becomes the answer to the complicated frustrations that come from fear.

Those who lead, as anti-Communists, seem to many people to be the symbol of security. These leaders are to be trusted, they think, with the right to define for all citizens what true Americanism is.

Many are eager to believe the anti-Communist leaders who say that the government is not to be trusted or that our educational system is to be blamed for our ills. It seems easier to believe, with these self-appointed leaders, that if all of us think the same thoughts the whole country will be safe — easier for many people than to take the trouble to think for themselves.

There is fear of an atomic war, and this underlying fear is concealed by building up other fears.

There is fear that communism may expand its control in the world.

There is fear that there may be forces of weakness and corruption in our government.

There is fear that our standards of living may be lowered. We are afraid that we will not succeed, we will not win out. In a savagely competitive world, we want jobs, social position, power, material success.

Many people are afraid or too apathetic to think for themselves. Conforming to the ideas of others seems to offer security and a magical cure for all fears and anxieties.

They are relieved to be *against* something, for that spares them from deciding what they are for.

They want to hold on to what is, not to use their imagination, their ingenuity, and their citizenship to find something better.

They are insecure because they feel surrounded, as though they were under siege.

Because they think that they are being besieged, they assume that they no longer need to consider whether an action is ethical or unethical. In a dangerous situation the ends seem to justify the means. What is "safe" is right.

What is happening in America?

If fears and insecurities can be mobilized by self-seeking persons around one all-encompassing cause, anticommunism, and if those who symbolize this cause make their definition of Americanism the dominant definition, we may expect such results as these:

Hatred of racial and religious groups will become a political force;

Schools and colleges will be mobilized to conform with the thought-control of national "leaders";

The press, the pulpit and all means of mass communication will be intimidated or silenced;

The churches and other religious institutions will be discredited;

The United Nations will be undermined.

The churches will be forced to preach a narrow nationalism and a "white America," and play a controlled role

in building a nation of little conformers to a little way of life.

Fear has always been used as a weapon by those who have tried to destroy democracy and to replace it with their control of the conduct and the souls of the people. A totalitarian state always uses regimented emotion and agitation.

We live in an atmosphere of fear, a fear which makes it "safe" to follow those who say, "Conform to our ideas and methods — or else!" Our fears and anxieties are being deliberately manipulated by highly organized agencies appealing to public opinion. And the real motives of the merchants of hate become hidden — self-righteousness for the sake of profit, "patriotism" for political purposes, destruction of character for the sake of publicity.

Effect on world relations

People in other countries cannot understand why we are so dominated by fear — fear of foreigners, of our own government, of our neighbors. If the United States is strong, progressive, and prosperous, they ask, why are the American people so fearful of what to other countries seems a mere handful of Communists? Every evidence of American lack of confidence in the American virtues and institutions shakes their confidence in our international policies.

A Protestant newspaper writer in France writes as though America were moving toward the kind of conditions that are now found in Moscow, Budapest, or Prague. He sees politically ambitious men in the United States who, like Hitler, are creating a following of those who may be well-meaning, or unscrupulous or weak, but who want to build the same kind of world that Hitler tried to build.

Can we strengthen the mind and heart and soul of the free world if we weaken or destroy our traditional American freedoms — freedom of expression in the churches, schools, and colleges, in political life, in the press?

The threat to religious bodies

If religious bodies — official Protestantism, Judaism, and liberal Roman Catholicism — do not effectively resist current threats to our basic American liberties, if they do not insist on correctives to the methods of Congressional investigating committees and the methods of groups and individuals who have the same pattern of thought and action, they themselves will be severely handicapped or entirely discredited.

Your church often takes stands for social justice. Do you want it to refrain from all such actions taken in the name of a body of informed Christian citizens, through fear that the church will be called "subversive"? Do you want your church to cease to work for world peace, because it may be accused of following the "Communist line"?

POINTS FOR DISCUSSION

Discuss from your own experience and observation how we are in danger of losing our faith in government, confidence in our educational system, and respect for freedom of thought.

Ask two from your group to "role-play" an imaginary conversation: the parent of a boy in a European country is describing the United States as it is today. Would the boy be told that America is the land of hope and freedom?

What do people mean when they say that they want "security"?

Illustrate the ways by which institutions of religion can be discredited — by innuendo; by misrepresentation of the words of religious leaders; by intimidating accusations; by the charge of "guilt by association."

What is the similarity between those who blindly follow "mccarthyism" and the characteristics of those who follow "the Communist line"?

THE USE OF THIS BOOKLET

The material in this booklet has been selected to cover some of the many considerations that enter into a discussion of loyalty and freedom. As you use the material you will think of other topics to be explored; appoint members of the group to bring in such supplemental material.

Begin the study with the chapter most interesting to the group; use other chapters to expand the discussion in later meetings. Begin each discussion, if possible, with something in your own community that seems to be threatening American freedom. Use this booklet to widen the discussion to the whole American scene. If you have an especially good discussion session, repeat it later, inviting outstanding community leaders to be guests — or participants.

After the group has become aware of what is involved in any community situation threatening American freedom, a wider community gathering could be arranged to discuss the situation. Remember that it is important to understand the point of view of those who disagree with you. As you begin your discussion, ask two or three members of the group to prepare a program for a final meeting on a positive approach to loyalty and freedom: What does loyalty involve? What is true freedom? Such a final meeting could be reported in community newspapers; editors could be asked to write on the significance of the discussion. Ministers could be asked to make this the theme for a sermon.

WHAT CAN A CITIZEN DO?

1. Be sure of your own convictions.

   (a) *Know the facts.* Read and study. Listen to radio and TV commentators. If they distort what seems to be the truth, write to the radio and TV station and say so. Write the newspaper editor, if he seems to slant his editorials away from the truth.

(b) *Keep the dialogue going in a controversy*. The way to preserve free speech is to speak freely. The right to dissent is the priceless heritage of democracy.

(c) *Face the threats* to freedom whenever they come up. Very often the most influential way to change public opinion is through individual contact.

(d) *Cultivate the courage to say "no"* in personal encounters.

(e) *Remember* that the denial of another's civil liberties is a step toward the loss of your own. Do not be afraid to protest known violations of civil liberties.

(f) *Keep your own individual liberty*. Avoid gossip, rumor and snap judgments. Don't be fooled by headlines. Evaluate the sources of all information.

(g) *Become acquainted with* the teachers in the public schools. Find out what they are teaching. Support them when they are unjustly attacked.

2. Get together with friends and neighbors. Discuss this booklet and the books listed on page 34. Note that there are definite questions for discussion at the end of each chapter. For such discussion one neighborhood is sponsoring a "Controversy Club."
3. Get in touch with state legislators.
   Discuss with them bills before the legislature which are intended either to infringe or to protect the civil liberties of citizens in your state. Let them know how you stand on such issues. Give them a copy of this booklet or any from the bibliography mentioned later.
4. Keep in touch with your senators and representatives in Washington. When they are at home try to get interviews with them. Give them a copy of this booklet or any from the bibliography. Discuss with them the following summary of a statement made in Washington, February 25, 1954, at a hearing of the House Sub-Committee on Rules by Charles C. Parlin, vice-chairman of the Committee on Maintenance of American Freedom of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U. S. A.

The House Committee on Un-American Activities releases "information from the files." These, said Mr. Parlin, consist primarily of clippings, some collected by its staff, some sent in by vigilante volunteers. These files contain in some cases absolute misstatement of facts. Some have stated half-truths; some make profuse use of articles which have appeared contemporaneously in most of the newspapers of the country, and yet a Communist newspaper is the only one quoted; sometimes the alleged news item appears nowhere else but in the Communist paper, and in instances represents an outright pirating of the person's name or a misstatement of fact. These files ignore essential dates and list derogatory materials, but make no attempt to include data easily available which would indicate devotion to America and American institutions. Material out of context is also used and handled in such a way as to give a totally false impression.

On March 3, President Eisenhower expressed himself concerning the unfairness and discourtesy exhibited by certain Congressional committees and referred with hope to the steps being taken in Congress to set up codes of fair procedures.

Ask your Senators and Congressmen if they will support such steps. If you know of any, give them instances where constitutional rights of witnesses have been denied and standards of fair play, recognized by the American people, disregarded.

5. Watch your legislators' performance in Congressional committees in the light of the coming election. Work for and vote for the election of fair-minded, honest, freedom-loving men and women.
6. Express basic beliefs regarding personal and academic freedom to clergymen, laymen, local school boards and others. See page 17 for section regarding *Education.*
7. Co-operate with other freedom-loving groups. In your community you will find many groups as concerned as your own, wishing to join you in learning about

taking a stand for freedom. Get in touch with other faith groups, with the League of Women Voters, the Y.W.C.A., American Association of University Women, and others. If there are problems relating to fundamental freedoms in your community, talk with these groups about possible action.

8. Encourage more accurate reporting and interpretation of news. Talk with the local newspaper editor. Remind him of some of the precautions for newspapers listed by Palmer Hoyt, editor and publisher of the Denver *Post,* to be found in Defense Bulletin No. 50, May 1953, published by the National Education Association.
9. Use for discussion a book due to be published shortly: *I Protest,* An Experience with the House Committee on Un-American Activities, by G. Bromley Oxnam. Harper and Brothers, $2.50.

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Appendix:

WHAT DO THE CHURCHES SAY?

The following quotations from recent pronouncements of the churches on the subject of this pamphlet are excerpts. For the full statement, write your denominational headquarters.

American Baptist Convention, May 25, 1953

"WHEREAS, Although we share the concern of those who would protect our freedom against subversion, we are nevertheless deeply disturbed by the use of techniques of character assassination and guilt by association and assembly which threaten to curb that freedom of inquiry and research which is basic to our schools and other democratic institutions, and tend to silence debate upon the great public issues of our time lest those participating be denounced as subversive and un-American; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That we urge upon the leaders and constituents of our churches that they be vigilant to keep themselves beyond reproach in their conduct and associations as these relate to their personal loyalty to the principles that should govern our nation. Furthermore, be it

"Resolved, That we call upon American Baptists to stand fast in their belief and adherence to their traditional principles of civil and religious rights, and wherever such rights are violated, to raise their voices in effective protest. . . . Furthermore, be it

"Resolved, That we deplore what evidence we have observed of the readiness on the part of the legislative committees set up by the Congress of the United States to credit and publicize unfounded rumors and unsubstantiated opinions to the detriment of the character of persons under their surveillance. . . ."

A Letter to Presbyterians. The General Council of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., Oct. 21, 1953

". . . Things are happening in our national life and in the international sphere which should give us deep concern. Serious thought needs to be given to the menace of communism in the world of today, and to the undoubted aim on the part of its leaders to subvert the thought and life of the United States. Everlasting vigilance is also needed, and appropriate precautions should be constantly taken, to forestall the insidious intervention of a foreign power in the internal affairs of our country. In this connection, Congressional committees, which are an important expression of democracy in action, have rendered some valuable services to the nation.

"At the same time the citizens of this country, and those in particular who are Protestant Christians, have reason to take a grave view of the situation which is being created by the almost exclusive concentration of the American mind upon the problem of the threat of communism. . . .

"Favored by an atmosphere of intense disquiet and suspicion, a subtle but potent assault upon basic human rights is now in progress. Some Congressional inquiries have revealed a distinct tendency to become inquisitions . . . [constituting] a threat to freedom of thought in this country. Treason and dissent are being confused. The shrine of conscience and private judgment, which God alone has a right to enter, is being invaded.

". . . There is something still more serious. A great many people, within and without our government, approach the problems of communism in a purely negative way. Communism, which is at bottom a secular religious faith of great vitality, is thus being dealt with as an exclusively police problem. As a result of this, there is growing up over against communism a fanatical negativism. Totally devoid of a constructive program of action, this negativism is in danger of leading the American mind into a spiritual vacuum. Our national house, cleansed of one

demon, would invite by its very emptiness, the entrance of seven others. In the case of a national crisis this emptiness could, in the high-sounding name of security, be occupied with ease by a fascist tyranny.

"We suggest therefore, that all Presbyterians give earnest consideration to the following three basic principles and their implications for our thought and life.

1. "The Christian Church has a prophetic function to fulfill in every society and in every age.

"The Church should draw attention to violations of those spiritual bases of human relationship which have been established by God." It should also "proclaim those principles, and . . . instill that spirit, which are essential for social health, and which form the indispensable foundation of sound and stable policies in the affairs of state."

2. "The majesty of truth must be preserved at all times and at all costs.

"Loyalty to truth is the common basis of true religion and true culture. . . . In the interests of propaganda, truth is deliberately distorted or remains unspoken. The demagogue, who lives by propaganda, is coming into his own on a national scale.

". . . Communism, as we know to our sorrow, is committed on principle to a philosophy of lying; democracy, in fighting communism, is in danger of succumbing, through fear and in the name of expediency, to the selfsame philosophy. It is being assumed, in effect, that, in view of the magnitude of the issues at stake, the end justifies the means. Whatever the outcome of such a war, the moral consequences will be terrifying. . . .

3. "God's sovereign rule is the controlling factor in history. . . .

"That we have the obligation to make our nation as secure as possible, no one can dispute. . . . A still greater obligation . . . is to make sure that what we mean by security, and the methods we employ to achieve it, are in accordance with the will of God.

"Let us frankly recognize that many of the revolutionary forces of our time are in great part the judgment of

God upon human selfishness and complacency, and upon man's forgetfulness of man. . . .

"On the other hand, just because God rules in the affairs of man, communism as a solution of the human problem is foredoomed to failure. . . . It [communism] does not know that evil cannot be eradicated from human life by simply changing a social structure. . . ."

A Message to the Church from The Methodist Council of Bishops, December 11, 1953

". . . It has been the conviction of The Methodist Church for years, never held more strongly than now, that the right to be free implies not only the freedom of the body, but also the freedom of the mind, and the freedom of the spirit.

"In this time of fear and irresponsible accusation, areas of freedom of speech and thought are being narrowed all over the world. In communist lands thought control uses the techniques of absolute censorship, spying of secret police, torture, imprisonment, and death.

"In our land, when we protest against such types of control, self-appointed guardians of the liberty we want for ourselves and all men may, by the calling of names, unfounded accusations and the assertions of guilt by association, destroy the priceless heritage they claim to defend.

"In the United States today there are people, some of them in our church, who are being made to believe false statements about their leaders until the human mind is filled with suspicion and the human spirit is shackled. In such an atmosphere suspicion becomes a fear, fear becomes hatred, and hatred sets a man against his neighbor, friend, and brother.

"We resent unproved assertions that the Protestant ministry is honeycombed with disloyalty. We are unalterably opposed to communism, but we know that the alternative to communism is not an American brand of fascism.

"Our time-honored and self-authenticated procedures for determining guilt and disloyalty can so easily be dis-

carded in fanatical investigations, we must oppose those who in the name of Americanism employ the methods of repression, who speak with the voice of democracy but whose hands are the hands of tyranny.

"Victory over communism belongs to the triumph of spiritual idealism which has made our nation and given it any leadership it merits among the nations of the world. The President of the United States in a compelling speech last spring emphasized that victory over communism is possible only through a great spiritual movement.

"In the continuing conflict between freedom and totalitarianism, religion has been and is the unfailing bulwark of free men. Faith in the sovereign goodness of God and in the inherent dignity of man has sustained the people of every nation who have dared to stand for moral right and have refused to surrender their dreams of universal peace. This simple and stalwart faith lingers in the souls of unnumbered millions, though sometimes half-buried beneath our fears and selfish interests. The most pertinent need of this hour is a spiritual reawakening, and a turning to Almighty God.

"We therefore call upon the Church to proclaim the evangel of Jesus Christ with renewed confidence and insistence in the face of every opponent, and to interpret its relevance to the fears and problems that confront us.

"We call upon our people that they remember the rock out of which they are hewn, that they hold fast their Christian heritage; that they stand steadfast against every attempt to shackle the human spirit and that with humble mind and dedicated life they pray and labor with all who confess the Lordship of Christ to the end that all men may be redeemed by his grace and his kingdom may be established on earth."

Advisory Committee of the Executive Committee of the General Council of the Congregational Christian Churches, March 12, 1953

". . . As spiritual descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers who fled to this country to escape the intolerably conducted inquisitions of government officials in England, we are

peculiarly interested in the new threat that Congressional committees may inquire into alleged Communistic activities in our churches.

"The ministerial personnel and books of our churches are open now and always to investigation by any duly authorized Congressional committee seeking information regarding property or any other matters with which the State normally deals. We should, however, join our brethren of the Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant groups in resisting with all our energy any invasion of the spiritual domain of the churches by the State.

"We believe that the proper procedure, in case of suspected subversive activity within the churches, would be for the appropriate Congressional committee to bring the situation to the attention of the authoritative body within the religious organization involved. That body would then deal with the matter in accordance with its own ecclesiastical discipline.

"The Congress and all Congressional committees should understand clearly that the American doctrine of the separation of Church and State calls for a permanent and clean-cut division in the lines of responsibility between the two."

Pastoral Letter of the House of Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church, November 12, 1953

". . . It should hardly be necessary to state that the Christian Church is opposed to communism as a threat not only to individual freedom but indeed to everything for which the Christian religion stands. But it is necessary to make this statement, for there have been broad generalizations and accusations, particularly against those churches which have a democratic tradition. The fact is that the Christian churches are the greatest bulwark against atheism and the whole philosophy and practice of communism. It is not simply a matter of pronouncements, but of all that happens on the parish level: the training of children, the preaching of the doctrine of Christ, the worship of Almighty God. The church is equally opposed to what may be described as creeping fascism. We know from our

brethren of the churches abroad that often fascism has come upon them unawares. We are against trial by uninformed public opinion, against accusations by hearsay. . . . We are for fairness and justice, as a part both of Christianity and of our democratic way of life. . . ."

A Letter to the Christian People of America, from the General Assembly of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America, Denver, Colorado, December 1952

". . . We rest uneasy when freedom anywhere is restricted by totalitarian practices, be they political, social, economic or religious. We believe that true freedom is possible only through the faith whereby Christ sets man free. This is a freedom not only *from* something, but *for* something. Men must be free not only to worship but also to speak and act as responsible human beings in accordance with their conscience. . . ."

General Board, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America, New York City, March 11, 1953

". . . Conspirators in any area of life who seek the violent overthrow of the government of the United States should be discovered, tried in American tribunals and, where found guilty, punished.

"No witness at any investigation should be denied fair and dignified treatment. Having sworn to tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, he should be permitted the right of an uninterrupted initial statement of reasonable length since unlimited right of cross-examination by all members of the investigating committee is allowed. No committee should circulate on its letterhead over the signature of its members or employees unsupported charges against individuals or organizations which it has made no effort to investigate or substantiate.

"The proper and essential function of Congressional investigations must be preserved. It must be jealously guarded against abuse through methods that are now bringing it into disrepute.

"At this moment when national unity based upon mutual confidence is of paramount importance to our security, men in responsible positions must not, through unsubstantiated charges and blanket indictments, destroy confidence in our American schools, colleges, and universities. To do this would be to play into the hands of the Communists.

"There should be no encroachment upon the sound American pattern of local control of schools. National regimentation, whether of business, of labor, of religion, or of education, is abhorrent to Americans. No regimentation is more dangerous than that of the mind. The control of our educational institutions, in keeping with the American voluntary principle as opposed to statism, is not a function of Congressional committees but is properly vested in boards of trustees and of education selected for that purpose. These boards must exercise the responsibility of dealing with the occasional subversive within their institutions.

"Because of these and allied concerns, we authorize and request the President of this Council to appoint a 'Committee on the Maintenance of American Freedom,' with instructions to watch developments which threaten the freedom of any of our people or their institutions whether through denying the basic right of the freedom of thought, through communist infiltration or wrong methods of meeting that infiltration. The Committee is requested to make such recommendations to the General Board from time to time as the Committee may deem appropriate."

General Board of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America, New York City, September 16, 1953

At its meeting in New York city, March 11, 1953, the General Board appointed a "Committee on the Maintenance of American Freedom" with instructions to watch developments which threaten the freedom of any of our people or their institutions whether through denying the basic right of the freedom of thought, through communist

infiltration or wrong methods of meeting that infiltration. The Committee is requested to make such recommendations to the General Board from time to time as the Committee may deem appropriate.

At its meeting in New York city, September 16, 1953, the General Board of the National Council of Churches passed the following resolution, presented by the Committee on the Maintenance of American Freedom:

"We are shocked at the action of the House Committee on Un-American Activities in utter disregard of the American tradition of fair play in releasing accusations against two very distinguished Jewish rabbis, Stephen S. Wise and Judah L. Magnes, now dead and unable even to comment, much less to defend themselves.

"They were revered not only by their co-religionists but by millions of other Americans familiar with their records, their real passion for social justice and their significant contribution to the national welfare.

"It is all the more surprising that the Committee would blacken and defame the dead by release of un-corroborated testimony of a 1929 Communist without any attempt at verification.

"This reprehensible act is yet another example of the abuse of the Congressional investigative process through the release of accusations involving these men and others with the result that they are condemned without due process of law or any attempt to adhere to minimum American standards of justice and fair play.

"We are happy to associate ourselves with our Jewish friends in our determination to defend and enhance our common heritage of respect for human personality and the inalienable dignity of man."

The Ninth Meeting of the General Synod of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, June, 1953

". . . The fear of conspiracy and internal subversion has led to a frantic attempt to insure loyalty to American ideals by oaths, purges, state and Congressional inquisitions, and loose accusations, often unverified, sometimes repeated even when disproven, and 'smearing' the individ-

ual without any sympathy for communism because of honest mistakes in judgment or a desirable independence of thought. The investigation of educational institutions, the intimidation of teachers, the removal of books on controversial subjects from libraries, the banning of liberal commentators from radio and newspaper — these represent a dangerous apeing of the totalitarian methods we profess to oppose.

"The church should call upon the state and all the people to beware of hysteria and to remember that freedom of inquiry, freedom of speech, and freedom of opinion, like freedom of religion, are basic to a healthy society; and that even the opponents of our Government, as long as they resort to no other weapons but argument can most effectively and properly be overcome by reason and truth. . . ."

The Fourth National Study Conference on the Churches and World Order, October, 1953

". . . In the face of the critical and morally perplexing decisions our country must make, the internal health and strength of America are of crucial importance. . . . The threats of subversion from within and the much larger threats of aggression from without are real and ugly facts. But security purchased at the price of free discussion is a false security. The demagoguery which, in the name of 'Americanism' seeks to exploit fears, foment suspicion, bypass due process of law, and stifle differences of opinion, is a most grievous type of un-Americanism. . . . Genuine security depends on freedom — including the right to dissent from the majority. This is the genius of our democratic inheritance, and an unfailing source of our strength. . . ."

International Convention of Disciples of Christ

Meeting in Portland, Oregon, July 5-9, 1953, the Disciples of Christ concurred in the statements of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U. S. A., March 1953, and further called upon both laymen and ministers to guard jealously the freedom of the pulpit and to

support one another in the expressions of honest opinions. They also declared their belief in the right and duty of Congress to investigate evidences of subversion and disloyalty, and the responsibility of ministers of the gospel to the laws of the land along with other citizens. They further affirmed their conviction that all investigations should be carried on under established American procedures which protect the rights of all persons accused or suspected of crimes, including the right to know of what he is accused, who his accuser is, to have all evidence against him substantiated under law, and the right to enter evidence on his own behalf. They emphatically rejected the right of any committee to conduct investigations except under these conditions.

Executive Board of the American Friends Service Committee, November 4, 1953.

"It is our deep concern to help make clear that current attacks on civil liberties strike at the roots of both American political philosophy and Friends' basic concept of man's relationship to God. The religious message of Friends is the Christian message that each person is a child of God, and, therefore, is equal to every other person in the sight of God. Democracy is based on respect for this supreme worth and uniqueness of every individual. It gains its strength and unity from the combined free contribution of the diverse talents and ideas of each of its citizens. Therefore, both Christian principle and democratic theory require that all men shall be free — free to think, free to speak, and free to follow the dictates of conscience. . . .

"Fear is too often our response to uncertainty. Loyalty oaths, legislative abuses of investigatory power, assumption of guilt until innocence is proved, implications of guilt through association, and denials of the free platform are some of the products of this fear. The alternatives to fear are faith and courage: faith that in the free market place of ideas truth will prevail; courage to put the ideals of freedom into action. . . .

"We will encourage meetings where controversial is-

sues can be discussed in an atmosphere of good will; where different views can be presented not to create conflict and recrimination, but to seek the truth.

"We join with others who have defended and increased the areas of freedom. We will support with new vigor those ways which dignify and ennoble the individual."

General Board of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America, New York city, March 17, 1954.

"Deeply concerned by certain trends in American public life, the National Council of Churches in March, 1953, created a 'Committee on the Maintenance of American Freedom' and instructed it to 'watch developments that threaten the freedom of any of our people or their institutions, whether through denying the basic right of freedom of thought, through Communist infiltration, or wrong methods of meeting that infiltration.'

"I. One such threat has come from procedural abuses by Congressional Committees. Remedial measures are now being proposed, and we commend the President, the leaders of both major parties and the members of Congress who have spoken out and demanded reforms. If these reforms are to be adequate, they should provide protection from at least the following:

1. The stigmatizing of individuals and organizations on the basis of unsupported accusations and casual associations.
2. The forcing of citizens, under pretext of investigation of subversive activities, to testify concerning their personal economic and political beliefs.
3. The functioning of Congressional Committees as legislative courts to determine the guilt or innocence of individuals.
4. The denying of 'witnesses' opportunity to bring out material favorable to their side of the case through questions by witnesses' own counsel

and opportunity to test the validity of accusations through cross-examination of accusers.

5. The permitting to a Committee member or counsel the reading into the record against a 'witness' defamatory material and charges without requiring the accuser personally to confront the accused.
6. The usurping by Congressional Committees of powers not granted to Congress by the Constitution and their failing to concentrate on the primary task of collecting information for purposes of new legislation.
7. The scheduling of hearings, subpoenaing of witnesses and evaluating of their testimony by Chairmen of Committees without the concurrence of, or consultation with, their fellow Committee members.
8. The releasing from the files of a Congressional Committee of so called 'information' consisting of unverified and unevaluated data in such a way that the Committee can be used to help spread and give credence to malicious gossip.

"II. Another threat has come from competition among rival Congressional Committees, creating the impression that they seek publicity, personal aggrandizement and political advantage rather than basic facts. In order to concentrate energy on the legitimate and essential tasks of resisting the Communist threat, and in order to avoid wastage and duplication of effort and to minimize the risk of the exploitation of public interest and fear, we urge the establishment of a single Joint Congressional Committee for the investigation of subversive activity.

"III. A more basic threat has been a growing tendency on the part of our people and their representatives in government to suppose that it is within the competence of the state to determine what is and what is not American. The American way is to preserve freedom by encouraging diversity within the unity

of the nation and by trusting truth to prevail over error in open discussion. The American way is to rely upon individuals to develop and express individual opinions. The American way is to depend upon the educational institutions to seek the truth and teach it without fear. The American way is to look to the churches in the richness of their diversity to bring to the nation light and discipline from God to maintain a responsible freedom.

"IV. Aggravating these threats to American freedom is the prevailing mood of restlessness and tension. This arises in part from the real menace of communism which our nation is resisting by strength. It arises in part from the lack of a sense of security within our people which no physical strength can produce. Spiritual security can be achieved only by strengthening the nation's faith in God. The responsibility for deepening this faith rests with the churches."

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